2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

781 calls them obeiahs. An obeiah is a charm or a form of magic
778 to be distinguished from a *wofee*, which is a taboo. Obeiahs may be worn in the form of bracelets or necklaces, called *bee*. Bush Negroes never start out on a hunting or river trip without a number of bee around the arm, or leg, or neck. Thus the machinations of the evil spirits are set at naught.

One bee which Abuisa made for us is formed of heavy wire wrapped with white cord and set with cowrie shells. Worn on the arm, this will make you very strong. The charm will protect you while engaged in dangerous doings, such as [93] drinking river water after someone has been drowned in it. Abuisa made this bracelet out of friendship. It was given, not purchased; therefore the old-time gods are not offended at its being possessed by a white man.

[94] He presented it with great solemnity, taking a mouthful of rum and spitting it on the ground as a libation to the ground god, then squirting another mouthful over the bracelet. After that we all had a swallow of the same liquid and [95] Abuisa said a prayer in deepee-talkee. A somewhat similar ceremony attended the giving of a Djuka name to the white man—*Abenee*, provider.

781 The cowrie shells with which the obeiah is set are smeared
321 with pemba dotee. The clay closes up the openings of the
778 shells, thus preventing evil spirits from entering into the interior. These cowrie shells, which decorate practically all the [7] magic emblems of the Djukas, are commonly found among the savages of Africa, both on the East and West Coasts. They are also common in African art work, and at one time constituted a form of currency, pope moni.

Gittinsuit--177 K-5 (1948-1958) 1981 588 Sub Sangrans 588
Bons

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Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Balna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals."

Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condemned milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

Existence of several independent names. Each Bom has two names, the gaã ngm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin ngm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin ngm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Bom are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

--Moreau--170 K-5 (1948-1950) 1961 580 Bush Negroes 580 Boni

[55] [553] /123 cont./
and supplanting the others. But in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gɛ̃ nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] [126] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census of the Refugee Bush impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Bush find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Funtiman to his maternal relatives, Gobɔjo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyo to his first wife.

[55] [553] Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Daaa, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

[55] [179] Again are pointed out:

--More or less deformed European names: Afaybi (Rafaël), Modɛl, Pasɛnsi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Tolna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/126 cont./

SSI [191] --African names (Mima, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Affiba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Ouniken, Pâlâd. This last name had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

[333] --Names of plants, animals or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Agouti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (reed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépunu (épinard, "spinach"), Pokimichi (small portable stove), Belansi (balance), Tambour /tãbur/, Kîstî (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tamarind); Granbaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklèt /bicycle/, Tumubil /automobile/, etc.;

[199] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifèst, Komisâ (commissioner), Nitwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machoun (machine);

SSI 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

SSI --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mufu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alêbidâ (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobiafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

SSI SM --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abêsé

/124 cont./

551 [577] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nafiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B..., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B..., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

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553 613 [178] [162] Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

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553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[197]

1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence [198] of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

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553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[177]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

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[593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious [584] matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

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[826] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).